

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XIII. No. 26.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1808.

[PRICE 10D.]

" There is a point of trial, beyond which neither loyalty nor patriotism will support a man, and that point is, the moral conviction that no change, that can possibly take place, will make his life more miserable than it is; for, what is it, that men labour and fight for? Consider the question well, and you shall find, that all the motives come, at last, to two only; namely to *gain*, or to *preserve*. Now, it is contrary to all reason and to common sense, that a man should venture his life to defend and to preserve that which he must naturally hate."—NEDHAM'S Essay on Government.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SPANISH REVOLUTION.—This is a subject, which, let the event be what it may, must be deeply interesting to every man who reflects; and, as I took occasion to observe in my last Register, I think, nothing could be more proper than such a discussion and decision, in parliament, as would have been a pledge to the people of Spain, and to the world, that the intention of England was to assist that people in recovering and establishing their liberties, and that, for that assistance, nothing was to be demanded. But, when Mr. *Sheridan* was stated to be the motion-maker, that was to be expected, which has taken place; namely, a miserable fetch at popularity, a shew of being above party considerations, and, not unlikely, the sowing the seeds of a profitable job. This is a pretty use to make of the cause of the Spanish patriots!—The motion of Mr. *Sheridan* (which was made on the 15th instant) was prefaced by a speech, the equal of which for nothingness, I never read in my life. I must insert it; for, to give an adequate description of it is impossible.—" Mr. Speaker,—However I may regret that the proposition which I had the honour of giving notice that it was my intention to bring forward this evening, has been postponed until this late hour, and that the intention of the house must be considerably exhausted by the discussion which has just terminated, yet, Sir, I still think it right to submit to their consideration, the important subject which was the object of that notice. I cannot conceal that a kind of negotiation has been carrying on between my right hon. friend opposite and myself, in the course of which my right hon. friend expressed his wish that I would put off my motion for this evening, because the distinguished persons who have lately come over to England to represent to the British government the state and disposition of their native country are at this very moment partaking

the hospitality of his mansion. Sir, I allow that this was a strong reason on the part of my right hon. friend for desiring a postponement of this business; for I believe, with all my right hon. friend's public spirit and enthusiasm, that he has no very great inclination to lose a good dinner—(laugh). But as my right hon friend has detached a very able general (the secretary of state for Ireland) to represent him at his house, I feel less reluctant at thus intruding on his patience, and shall therefore proceed, only expressing my hope, that the gallant baronet may soon be detached on a more serious service; that he may soon be sent into Spain to represent in that country the enthusiasm of England in her cause—(Hear, hear!).—In the first place, sir, I wish to correct an idea which has gone abroad, that I entertained the folly, the presumption, the ill judgment, and the bad taste, of intending to teach his majesty's ministers how to conduct themselves in the existing circumstances. All I desire, sir, is to win the attention of the house to the present situation of Spain. Having communicated the tenor of my motion on a former evening to my right hon. friend opposite, and my intention not having been disapproved by my right hon. friend, I own I was surprised to find that his right hon. and learned colleague imagined that my motion would tend to embarrass his majesty's government. After the communication to which I have alluded, I expected that he would give me credit for having no such object in view. On the other hand, I experienced something like rebuke from my hon. friend (Mr. Whitbread), who seemed to think that I was going to bring forward a motion which was to save administration from all responsibility on the subject. Now really, sir, this was a most unfortunate outset on my part. I meant to do neither the one thing nor the other. And here I must say, that although no man living more

“ highly respects the political probity and
 “ ability of my hon. friend, as well as the
 “ estimable qualities of his private character,
 “ yet when he gets up to rebuke me for do-
 “ ing that which appears to me to be my
 “ duty, I am free to confess, while I ap-
 “ plaud his judgment—his understanding—
 “ the deliberation with which he decides on
 “ questions of importance—that if there be
 “ any one point in his character on which I
 “ should not be disposed to dwell with the
 “ greatest satisfaction, it would be his de-
 “ ference to the opinion of others, or his
 “ doubt with respect to his own—(*a*
 “ *laugh*).—I am placed, sir, in this dilem-
 “ ma; that while my hon. friend accuses
 “ me of a disposition to cover administra-
 “ tion, the right hon. and learned gent.
 “ opposite suspects me of an intention to do
 “ it all the mischief in my power. Sir, I
 “ may be wrong—I am far from wishing
 “ ministers to embark in any rash and ro-
 “ mantic enterprise in favour of Spain;
 “ but, sir, if the enthusiasm, and anima-
 “ tion, which now exists in a part of Spain,
 “ should spread over the whole of that coun-
 “ try, I am convinced that since the first
 “ burst of the French revolution, there ne-
 “ ver existed so happy an opportunity and
 “ occasion for Great Britain to strike a bold
 “ stroke for the rescue of the world.—
 “ (*Hear, hear, hear!*)—But, sir, it is said,
 “ “ if you do not distrust the administration,
 “ why discuss this subject in parliament?”
 “ Sir, I will tell you why. I am disposed to
 “ trust administration. But I wish to de-
 “ mand two things; I wish first to declare,
 “ that, in my opinion, we must not deal in
 “ dribblets; we must do much or nothing.
 “ Why do I make this declaration? Be-
 “ cause no cabinet which has hitherto exis-
 “ ted in this country—not even excepting
 “ that with which I had the honour of being
 “ connected, has pursued simply and
 “ plainly one clear and distinct object.
 “ Instead of striking at the core of the evil,
 “ the administrations of this country have
 “ hitherto contented themselves with nib-
 “ bling at the rind. In the censure, I
 “ must not include an hon. friend near
 “ me, nor Mr. Burke, they would have
 “ proceeded directly and completely to
 “ the object which they had in view, or
 “ they would not have advanced to it a
 “ step. But with these exceptions
 “ the ministers of England have pursued a
 “ petty policy; they have gone about
 “ filching sugar islands, and neglecting all
 “ that was dignified and all that was con-
 “ sonant to the truly understood interests
 “ of their country. I wish therefore, Sir,

“ to let Spain know, that the conduct
 “ which we have pursued we will not per-
 “ severe in, but that we are resolved fairly
 “ and fully to stand up for the salvation of
 “ Europe. The next demand I have to
 “ make Sir, is, that if a cooperation with
 “ Spain be expedient, it should be an
 “ effectual co-operation. I repeat, that I
 “ am far from prompting his majesty's go-
 “ vernment to engage in any rash romantic
 “ enterprise; but, Sir, if upon ascertain-
 “ ing the state of the popular mind, in
 “ Spain, they find it is warmed by a patrio-
 “ tic and enthusiastic ardour, then, Sir, all
 “ I ask is, that that feeling should be met
 “ here with corresponding energy and
 “ enthusiasm. Buonaparte has hitherto run
 “ a most victorious race. Hitherto he has
 “ had to contend against princes without
 “ dignity, and ministers without wisdom.
 “ He has fought against contries in which
 “ the people have been indifferent as to
 “ his success; he has yet to learn what
 “ it is to fight against a country in which
 “ the people are animated with one spirit
 “ to resist him—(*Hear, hear*). So far,
 “ Sir, from bringing forward a motion
 “ prematurely to embarrass his majesty's
 “ government, I solemnly declare, that,
 “ if the opportunity to which I have alluded
 “ of a vigorous interference on the part of
 “ England should arise, the present Ad-
 “ ministration shall have from me as cordial
 “ and as sincere support as if the man
 “ whom I most loved were restored to life
 “ and power. Is this a vain discussion?
 “ Let those who think so look at the pre-
 “ sent state of Europe. Will not the ani-
 “ mation of the Spanish mind be excited
 “ by the knowledge that their cause is
 “ espoused, not by ministers alone, but by
 “ the Parliament, and the people of
 “ England? If there be a disposition in
 “ Spain to resent the insults and injuries,
 “ too enormous to be described by lan-
 “ guage, which they have endured from
 “ the tyrant of the earth, will not that dis-
 “ position be roused to the most sublime
 “ exertion by the assurance that their efforts
 “ will be cordially aided by a great and
 “ powerful nation? Sir, I think this a
 “ most important crisis. Never was any
 “ thing so brave, so generous, so noble as
 “ the conduct of the Asturians. They
 “ have magnanimously avowed their hos-
 “ tility to France—they have declared war
 “ against Buonaparte—they have no retreat
 “ —they are resolved to conquer, or to
 “ perish in the grave of the honour and
 “ the independence of their country. It
 “ is that the British government may ad-

“ vante to their assistance with a firmer
 “ step, and with a bolder mien, that
 “ I have been anxious to afford this
 “ opportunity to the British Parliament,
 “ of expressing the feelings which they en-
 “ tertain on the occasion. I move, Sir,
 “ that an humble Address be presented to
 “ his Majesty, that he will be graciously
 “ pleased to direct that there be laid before
 “ this House, copies of such proclamations
 “ as have been received by his Majesty’s
 “ Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
 “ and which have been issued since the ar-
 “ rival of the French army at Madrid ;
 “ whether by the Spanish Government, the
 “ French Commander in Chief, or by per-
 “ sons since claiming to act on behalf of
 “ the Spanish nation.”—So, here, after
 all, is a motion for laying before the parlia-
 ment, papers which are in the possession
 of all the world, and which the mover *must*
 have known, that the government could not
 possess in an official form. But, it was
 clearly his intention not to make any motion
 that should be any thing more than mere
 smoke ; a mere pretence for making a mob-
 catching speech, and, at the same time, to
 pay his court to the ministers.—I wonder
 who it was that uttered the “ *laugh*,” at
 the empty stuff about the “ good dinner”
 and the “ able general ?” It must have
 been some stupid beast in the gallery ; for,
 it were, indeed, a slander to suppose that
 any member of the honourable and right
 honourable corps below ; that any lawgiver ;
 that any guardian of the public purse ; that
 any senator, should have been moved to
 laughter by such wretched attempts at wit,
 by such worse than guard-room or even
 green-room ribaldry. This was a pretty way
 to go to work to convince the patriots in
 Spain, that the English parliament *sympathized*
 with them. When a man sym-
 pathizes with another, who is in imminent
 danger, he cannot be much in a humour to
 jest. Any motion, relative to the affairs of
 Spain, should have been introduced with
 seriousness and earnestness, with as much
 life and force as you please, but with no
 jesting, no rabble-amusing jokes.—And,
 then, the long preface about the “ honour-
 “ able friend,” the palpable fishing for a
 compliment, discovered the selfishness of the
 real object in view ; and would, if the peo-
 ple of Spain could have heard it, have made
 them despair of any aid from a parliament,
 in which they appeared to have only *such*
 friends. The preface to the matter surpasses,
 in bulk, the matter itself. The speech
 is all whet and no cut. It is merely flum-
 mery. There is nothing of *sentiment*, or

principle, contained in it ; and, as will be seen,
 Mr. Canning’s answer was, as might have
 been expected, equally unmeaning.—Mr.
 Secretary Canning replied nearly as follows :
 “ Mr. Speaker, I am disposed to give every
 “ credit to my right hon. friend for his mo-
 “ tives in agitating this subject, and I can
 “ assure him, that he is very much mistaken
 “ if he imagines that it was intended to
 “ check or rebuke him by any thing that
 “ was said on a recent evening from this side
 “ of the House. At that time, although I
 “ was in possession of my right hon. friend’s
 “ communication, my right hon. friend
 “ near me was not so. Sir, I could very
 “ easily shew my right hon. friend, that it
 “ is impossible to produce the papers for
 “ which he has moved : some, because
 “ they have not reached his Majesty’s Go-
 “ vernment in an authenticated form ;
 “ others, because they are not accurately
 “ described in the motion ; and all, because
 “ if we were in possession of the informa-
 “ tion which they contain, it would be
 “ highly improvident in us, at the present
 “ moment, to communicate that informa-
 “ tion to the world. (*Hear, hear, hear.*)
 “ While I state this, however, Sir, I hope my
 “ right hon. friend will not misunderstand
 “ me so much as to suppose that I impute to
 “ him any blame for this proceeding, or
 “ that I undervalue the pledge which he
 “ has given us of his support in any plan of
 “ active operations which it may be deemed
 “ advisable to adopt with respect to Spain ;
 “ the more especially when it is considered,
 “ that in that pledge may be implied the
 “ support of those persons with whom my
 “ right hon. friend is accustomed to act in
 “ parliament, and of whose body he is so
 “ eminent and distinguished a member.
 “ Sir, I should have been far from charg-
 “ ing my right hon. friend with blame, even
 “ had he gone so far as to chalk out to his
 “ majesty’s ministers the line of conduct
 “ that in his opinion it would be expedient
 “ for them to pursue. From this he has
 “ abstained. Indisposed as I should have
 “ been to censure my right hon. friend, had
 “ he proceeded to that extent, I cannot but
 “ feel that his speech, moderate as it has
 “ been, calls for such a general disclosure
 “ of the sentiments of his majesty’s minis-
 “ ters as cannot be made without hazard,
 “ without a dishonourable compromise, and
 “ without exciting expectations which may ne-
 “ ver be realised. It is, therefore, Sir, I declared
 “ to the house and to the country, that his ma-
 “ jesty’s ministers see with as deep and lively
 “ an interest as my right hon. friend, he
 “ noble struggle which a part of the Spanish

nation is now making to resist the un-
 exampled atrocity of France, and to pre-
 serve the independence of their country ;
 and that there exists the strongest dispo-
 sition on the part of the British Govern-
 ment to afford every practicable aid in a
 contest so magnanimous. In endeavour-
 ing to afford this aid, Sir, it will never
 occur to us to consider that a state of war
 exists between Spain and Great Britain.
 —(*Hear, hear, hear!*) We shall pro-
 ceed upon the principle, that any nation
 of Europe that starts up with a determi-
 nation to oppose a power which, whether
 professing insidious peace or declaring
 open war, is the common enemy of all
 nations, whatever may be the existing
 political relations of that nation with
 Great Britain, becomes instantly our es-
 sential ally. In that event his majesty's
 ministers will have three objects in view.
 The first to direct the united efforts of
 the two countries against the common
 foe ; the second to direct those efforts in
 a way which shall be most beneficial to
 the new ally ; the third, to direct them
 in a manner conducive to peculiarly Bri-
 tish interests. But, Sir, of those objects,
 the last will be out of the question, as
 compared with the other two. These are
 the sentiments with which his majesty's
 government are inspired. To the mea-
 sures which these sentiments may dictate,
 they confidently look for the support
 of parliament and of the country. It
 cannot, sir, be expected that I should say
 whether we think the crisis arrived, or
 whether we anticipate its speedy ap-
 proach, when the sentiments which I
 have described must be called into action.
 It is sufficient that I have stated what we
 feel, and what we intend. (*Hear, hear,*
hear!)—For these reasons, sir, which I
 have before-mentioned, I am compelled
 to dissent from my right hon. friend's mo-
 tion.—What is there here that is like-
 ly to inspire the Spanish patriots with confi-
 dence? “To direct their efforts in a way
 the most beneficial to the new ally.”
 Aye, but there is nothing to guide us in our
 conjectures as to *what the ministers think*
will be the most beneficial to that new ally.
 They may look upon a restoration of the
 monarchy, in the persons of those who gave
 up the sword of FRANCIS I, the most bene-
 ficial to the patriots of Spain. They may in-
 tend to exact, as the price of the aid to be
 given, that there shall be no essential change
 in the government, the ranks, and orders,
 in Spain ; and, were I a Spaniard, rather
 than receive their aid upon such conditions,

I would, after using all the means in my own
 power to keep them out, admit Napoleon
 and his government. To be sure, the mi-
 nisters were not pressed for a declaration.
 Mr. Sheridan took care that his motion
 should not be an annoyance to them. But,
 though not pressed, they should have made
 an explicit declaration, that they would by
 no means, and in no manner whatever,
 attempt to dictate to the people of Spain, as
 to the choice of their future government.
 If it were proper to interfere at all, it would
 be merely in the way of advice, and this
 might be very well, and, perhaps, very pro-
 perly, conveyed in a proclamation. Why
 should there be any skulking upon the sub-
 ject? Why not issue a proclamation, at
 once, declaring, that the people of Spain
 shall have all the aid that England can give
 them in shaking off the yoke of both sorts
 of tyranny? In such a proclamation, a
 hope might be expressed, that (in case of
 success) the Spaniards would not be so fool-
 ish as to suffer themselves to be cajoled into
 the adoption of a sort of government, which,
 under the names of law and liberty, would
 strip them of almost their very skins, or,
 which would be worse, would make them
 strip one another; would make them,
 mulct, pillage, rob, whip, gag, imprison,
 and ruin one another. The Spaniards might,
 in such a proclamation, be reminded, that
 a state, like that here described, would be,
 beyond comparison, more painful and dis-
 graceful, than that of a people, living under
 a simple despotism, devoid of the hypocriti-
 cal disguise of liberty and law. They might
 be warned not to suffer themselves to become
 the partisans of political adventurers, who
 would use them merely as instruments in
 obtaining the means of robbing them with
 impunity, and who, though engaged in a
 continual strife against each other, hating
 each other more than monks, would yet,
 whenever occasion served, join like a band
 of brothers, against the people ; to oppress,
 grind, and insult whom they would regard as
 an object in the furtherance of which all party
 animosities ought to be laid aside. The
 Spaniards might well have been warned to
 shun this, the greatest of all political evils,
 the most complete of all disgraces, the in-
 famy of infamies. Against suffering a sys-
 tem of domestic plunder to be established
 the people of Spain might, in a proclama-
 tion of our king, have been cautioned;
 against suffering to grow up a numerous
 order in the state, to be kept in idleness, to
 be fed, to be fattened, to be pampered in all
 manner of vices, by means drawn from the
 labour of the industrious and from the inge-

nity of the ingenious; against suffering bribery and corruption to worm themselves into their new government, whatever its form might be, 'till, at last, they got the power of putting almost to death every one who would dare to say, that they ought not to exist; against becoming spies upon each other; against being made the tools of intriguers and tyrants; against being induced, for the lucre of those tyrants, to harrass and kill one another; against, in short, every thing which is held in abhorrence by a good constitution, like, for instance, that of England. This would have been a wholesome lesson to inculcate in the minds of the Spaniards; who might, further, have been advised, if they did choose any one man to be at the head of their government, to take special care, to choose a man of sense, and of *real* virtue, whatever might be his origin, or his former rank; and to take a cobbler of this description, in preference to a prince, who should be a notorious fool, or profligate, or, perhaps, both. And, then, as to their army, they might have been most urgently exhorted not to put it under the command of any one who had discovered a mind fitted for nothing but low and pitiful arrangements and pursuits; such men, whatever their rank in the army, being evidently made for tailors or hair-dressers. The commanders, particularly in times of such importance, should all be men of great wisdom, and should be so regarded by the whole nation. There will, of course, be no bribery and corruption, in Spain, at first, and, therefore, commands in the army will not be bestowed upon silly boobies, by way of bribe to their fathers, or other relations; and, I trust, that mothers and wives and sisters and she-cousins and kept-mistresses will have very little to do in the appointing of generals and other officers. But, above all things, the Spanish patriots should be advised to take care not to appoint for the commander of their army, a notorious stinking coward, a fellow the history of whose campaigns would be the reverse of the old proverb, and whose motto might be, "one pair of heels is worth two pair of heads." If such a man, such a winged-heeled gentleman, such a beaten thing, should be to be found in their country, they may make a kennel-sweeper of him; but, if they suffer him to be the commander of their army, they will be, and they ought to be, conquered and enslaved for ever. No, no: the Spaniards, if they are bent upon resistance, have some real war to carry on; some real fighting; no field-day, no sham-fights; no drill-corporal work; and, if they have not a

commander of wisdom, talents, courage, and character, their chance is but very small indeed.—All this might, I think, have been said, in a proclamation, issued, at this time; but, no attempt should be made to interfere in any internal regulations, which the Spanish patriots may choose to adopt. That is their own affair. Experience has taught them what their late government was; it should be left entirely to themselves, either to take it again, or to reject it; and, upon this point in particular, I am extremely anxious, that our government should be explicit.—There was, the other day, a sentiment dropped, as it were accidentally, in the *Morning Post*, that rather alarmed me, which was this: that, if we succeeded in our assistance to drive the French out of Spain, the Spanish part of the family of Bourbon must become strongly attached to this country. This is a very ugly sentiment, and very alarming, if we suppose the editor not to have acted, in this instance, without authority; for, if we are to make war for the king or prince of Spain, we shall assuredly fail; and that, too, without exciting sorrow in the breast of any man who thinks rightly upon the subject. The royal family of Spain, after having, for so many years, wallowed in ease and luxury at the expense of the people of that country, make not a single effort to defend it; no, nor even to defend the titles, under which they had exercised their authority, and had drawn from the labour of the people the means of supporting so voluptuous a life. Upon the first summons, they surrender. In order to prevent hazard to their lives, and to secure the enjoyment of luxuries to the end of their days, they resign their titles and dignities; they, in fact, sell the people of Spain to Buonaparté for the purpose of providing a maintenance for themselves; and, the last use they make of the name of *king*, is, to command the people to obey their enemies; that is to say, to become slaves to a new master without resistance. This is, I think, the most like the transfer of an estate, together with the cattle upon it, of any thing that I have yet heard of. To endeavour to induce the people of Spain to shed their blood for the sake of this family would be an act of unparalleled insolence. I hope, therefore, the newspaper, to which I have referred, uttered the sentiment, upon which I have been remarking, without authority.—There is an attempt made to make us believe, that the prince of Asturias did issue a proclamation, calling upon the people of Spain to resist the French. But, why did he not *stay to help*? This is a poor shift

for the purpose of screening him and his family from odium. There is nothing that can be pleaded in excuse for his conduct. He *must* be a miserable coward. But, such is the natural consequence of a luxurious and profligate life. The man, whose time is spent amongst drunkards and harlots, and players and musicians, naturally and necessarily becomes base, in every sense in which the word can be taken. Such society would degrade the highest spirit that ever man was born with; and hence it is, that, when a nation becomes generally effeminate, it touches upon the verge of its fall, from which it can be saved only by some great convulsion, which, though it never fails to produce great suffering, does, at the same time, draw forth great talents. If this latter should be the case in Spain, that nation will be again great in the world; but, if no convulsion takes place, there will be merely a change of masters.—To return, for a moment, to the speeches in parliament; it was curious to observe the coquetry between Mr. Sheridan and the ministers, to whom he offered his support. His *support*! They must have laughed heartily at this, when they got home. Lord Castlereagh contrasted “the *noble warmth*” of Mr. Sheridan’s patriotism with the coldness of some others of his party. Aye, my lord, but what of warmth did *you* utter? You said nothing at all about the cause of the *people* of Spain. Against Napoleon you said enough; but, nothing *for the people of Spain*. Not a word. What call was there, then, for any pledge to support you, or your intended measures?—And, since we are upon that topic, why blame Buonaparté in this outrageous manner? Did we never before hear of invading and overrunning and conquering states which had not offended the conqueror? Is this the first time that we ever heard of sovereign princes being dethroned by those with whom they were in alliance, and to whom they had given no just cause of offence? Why, if the royal family of Spain had been carried away by force, had been shut up in a dungeon, and had, at the end of a short time, been murdered, we might, I think, recollect, without much trouble, instances to match such proceedings. Napoleon has not, that I know, actually *robbed* the Spaniards; he has not sent armed men to beat them up in the night, and to take their money and jewels from them; nor has he, in the indulgence of mere *caprice*, shot any of them to death. Till he does this, he does not come up to certain base tyrants that we have heard and read of. It is, to be sure, an abominable act of profligacy to pre-

tend, that the Spanish royal family really wished to give up their kingdom to him. To produce the old king’s act of abdication; to produce treaties made with him; to produce any act of his in proof of Napoleon’s rightful possession of Spain, is abominably impudent. But, if we reflect a little, we shall find him to be nothing more than a clumsy imitator at this work. He has not to boast of the original invention; nor can he, until he shall have caused the whole of the royal family to be murdered, while, at the same time, he has been professing a tender regard for their safety, put forward any claim to an equality with his teachers in the noble science.—Therefore, I could wish honourable gentlemen to moderate their expressions of censure against the Emperor of France; or, at least, that if, upon searching history, they find other conquerors, who have been infinitely more *base* in assuming the sovereignty of independent and unoffending states, they will spare for them some portion of their virtuous abhorrence.—As to the probability of the people of Spain succeeding in driving out the French, I should fear that it was very weak indeed. The emperor has had time to concert all his measures. The nobility were but too much like the court; and, with the natural leaders at home against them, while a powerful French army is in the heart of the kingdom, and while other powerful armies are pouring in, in every direction, what are the people to do? If there had been a large German army at Paris, in 1791, the French revolution would never have taken place. Nevertheless, if there should be a pretty general spirit of resistance, it will cost much blood to subjugate the country; and certainly our ministers are doing right in sending off assistance to the revolvers. That can do *no harm*, and it may do good. It is, however, a curious turn, which the war has taken, at last. We are now aiding a people against their sovereign. Disguise it how we will, this is the fact. The king of Spain has ceded his sovereignty to Buonaparté. A sovereignty ceded is a sovereignty rightfully possessed; and, I should like to hear the sticklers for “the law of nations” attempt to show how it is that the emperor is not, at this moment, the rightful sovereign of Spain. Mind, I do not wish to hint a doubt as to our right to aid and abet the people of Spain against their sovereign; but, I say, that it is a curious turn which the war has taken at last. We are now at war, by the side of Democracy against Despotism; and this certainly was not the case at the outset of the war which began in

1793. I have often had occasion to say, that now, since the emperorship of Buonaparté took place, it is not *democracy*, but *despotism*, that we have to fear. Democratical societies might now, one would think meet with the countenance of the government. What think you, my lord Castlereagh, of a democratical society for raising money to assist the patriots in Spain? The thing would be quite natural, and yet I'll warrant, that the very mention of it will make some people's teeth chatter in their heads. —I have been much amused with suppositions as to what must have passed amongst the divers sets of office-holders in Spain, at the dissolution of the old government. How the placemen and pensioners must have stared at one another, when they saw the old king's act of abdication; for, they never could suppose, that Napoleon would continue to pay them. What an outcry there must have been amongst all those, who had so long lived in idleness upon the labour of the people! What confusion amongst the tax-gatherers! What wringing of hands and tearing of hair amongst the strumpets, who were kept upon the taxes! And, if there were in Spain, any old intriguing, battered, titled hags, the constant defenders of peculators of every description, how chap-fallen the old devils must have been! I think I see them now, the un-renewed paint sticking in the wrinkles, their wigs uncombed, and their teeth scattered upon the toilet, while ruffian French grenadiers are mounting the stairs, and upon the point of tossing them out as so many bundles of filth. How it must have amused the people to see the humble and mournful looks of thousands and thousands of saucy rascals, who, but a few days before, treated them with disdain, at the same time that they were living upon the fruit of their labour. All these people, and all the numerous swarms of lacquies and strumpets whom they kept to administer to their pleasures, must now labour or starve. They will all pass now for just what they were worth, and no more. They will not work, however; they will thief, and then they will be hanged. —These gentry thought, doubtless, that they were secure in their enjoyments for life. They saw the misery of the people; they saw them writhe under the torment of being obliged to submit, in silence, to extortion and plunder; but, they said to themselves, "let them writhe; for they cannot destroy our authority, or suffer it to be destroyed by France, without exposing all property to destruction. For their own sakes, therefore, they will submit to be

"robbed and insulted by us. Come on, then, let us add to, instead of diminishing, the length of our spurs; for the greater the danger from without, the more perfect will be the submission within." They deceived themselves; and they have now found, that it was possible to ride with spurs so long as to leave the people *nothing to dread* from without. They had got the people's all, except their mere lives, and what could the French get more? The French could not carry away the land or the houses; if they killed the people they would have nobody to rule over; a *change* of property they might make, but still somebody must possess it; and, therefore, after all, it was only the few, and principally those who lived upon the labour of the people, who would experience any very serious suffering from the change. Nothing of this sort appears to have occurred to the bribing and corrupting gentlemen, nor to any of the bands of aumils and peculators, who seem, besides, to have quite forgotten, that revenge is not a very calculating passion, and that men, when pushed to extremity, care not if they do lose, and lose a good deal too, for the sake of seeing punishment inflicted upon those, by whom they have been long and deeply injured, especially if the injury be accompanied with insult, and the injurer, wrapped up in the impunity of office, laughs at the agonies of the injured. That the Spaniards will soon find themselves beset with new aumils and peculators, new bribers and corruptors, new robbers and insulters, I have little doubt. But, they will have seen the fall of their former enemies; and, it will, at any rate, be some time, some years, before the new ones will be able so completely to oppress them as they were oppressed before. That part of tyranny, which comes into every man's house and affairs, is a long while in growing to perfection. It creeps, by slow degrees, over a man, as the accursed ivy does over the oak. As it advances in the shoot, it gets stronger and stronger in the stem. Each new act of tyranny strengthens and confirms all that have been enacted before. But, when once the whole is loosened and torn down, though it may grow up again, that growth must be a work of time; and, in the interim, though in the midst of convulsions, men enjoy something like freedom. Though the bribers and robbers, in Spain, did not reason in this way, the people did. Instinct would teach them this. They knew, they *felt*, that they could not change for the worse. Their bare lives were all that they had left, and those they were naturally not

disposed to venture for the preservation of that which had reduced them to such a miserable state. To terrify a people with pictures of danger from without, and to rob and insult them under the security derived from that terror, will do for some time; but, it will not do for ever. It is not in the nature of the human mind to entertain terror for life. When it becomes familiar, it is no longer terror, and then, woe be unto those, by whom it has been excited, and who have thereon depended for impunity.

MR. ROSCOE AND MR. FOX.—In another part of this sheet, will be found, in a letter from a correspondent, a postscript to a new pamphlet, which, it appears, Mr. Roscoe has published relative to the conduct of Mr. Fox in the affair of the Passy Assassin. From this postscript, it is made clear (for I will not doubt the word of Mr. Roscoe respecting the documents and the information of Mr. Brooke), that the pretended assassin did really come from France, and was sent out of the country, in about three weeks afterwards. Mr. Roscoe now cries "calumny." But, as to myself, to whom he evidently alludes, I never said, that the invention was Mr. Fox's. I never said, that I believed it to be so. A correspondent of mine did say that he believed it; and, certainly, the thing was so incredible, as a real transaction, that any one was free to form his opinion respecting it. What I said, I still say: and, that is, that "Mr. Fox must have seen through the trick; or, at the very best, he was the dupe of Talleyrand." This was what I said; and I should not have gone too far in asserting, that, in not exposing the vile trick, Mr. Fox made himself a sort of accomplice in it. Mr. Roscoe makes no attempt to shew, that Mr. Fox ought to have considered the man as a real assassin. He says nothing to convince us that it was not a trick of Talleyrand; and he will please to recollect, that that was the main point for him to clear up. Mr. Fox could not have been in office more than a week when the assassin arrived. He was dispatched the moment the news of the change of ministry was received in France. It was evidently a dirty trick; and it was Mr. Fox's duty to expose it, instead of giving it countenance. Why was the man hurried out of the country? Why not have kept him here, till an account of the whole plot at Passy had been unravelled; till its existence had been proved? If Talleyrand could have sent over proofs of the existence of the plot, then the man might have been sent off; otherwise he ought to have been considered and treated as

a spy. Mr. Fox seems to have been afraid of obtaining proof of the trick; and Mr. Roscoe, even now, carefully abstains from saying any thing upon the conduct of Talleyrand, as to this matter, conscious apparently, that the less is said about it, the better. I did not wish to fix upon the memory of Mr. Fox the scandal of having been the inventor of such a paltry trick, but, it was my duty, in answering Mr. Roscoe, to expose the trick itself, and to take the shine off that eulogium which he thought proper to bestow upon the greatness of mind of the man, who was either an accessory to, or the dupe of, that trick.

MR. PALMER.—There is, I perceive, a committee formed, in the House of Lords, for investigating certain circumstances, relative to this gentleman's claim; and, from what has dropped, I am inclined to fear, that the decision of the House of Commons will be reversed. The spirit of "the great man now no more" is mighty still; and mighty it will be, until a *material change* take place. Of the nature of Mr. Palmer's claim, of the justice of it, enough was said in my former article upon the subject; and, indeed, there is nothing that can be said to procure him justice, if what has already been said be not sufficient. But, what is the most grating to one, is, to hear the sum due to this gentleman represented as enormous, and the paying of it as a *waste* of the public money, while not a word is said of the thousands and hundreds of thousands, which are annually paid out of the taxes to sinecure placemen and pensioners.—Lord Liverpool is Collector of the Customs with a monstrous salary; Lord Hawkesbury has four thousand pounds a year, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, while he has still more as Secretary of State; Lord Auckland has a large pension himself, another for his wife, and his son has many thousands of pounds a year, as one of the tellers of the Exchequer, his gains keeping pace with the increase of the taxes and the distresses of the people; Mr. Rose is in the receipt of immense sums annually from the taxes, and has taken care to have one of his places (worth four thousand a year at least) settled, in reversion, upon his son. But, the list would be endless. A committee was appointed, upon an amended motion of Lord Cochrane, to make out, and lay before parliament, a list of all the pensioners and sinecure place-holders. This list has not, I believe, been yet laid before the House. Two sessions have passed since it was moved for, and ordered. By the help of this list, we might afford the public some amusing information. If we

had this list before us, we might be able to make a striking contrast between the grants to others for doing nothing and this objection to the paying of Mr. Palmer for what he really earned, and which is as much his *due* as the wages of a journeyman are his *due* on a Saturday night.—Mr. Palmer was a man of too much merit and spirit to profit in such a concern, engaged with such people. He should have learnt to lick spittle, and have drilled himself to crawl upon his belly. This he could not do: well, then, he should have kept his invention to himself. What has he obtained? A life of vexation, from which he might have been free. He has not the *public* to blame. They would cheerfully pay him, and save the money by the reduction of useless expenses. If he chose to have dealings with the Pitts, that is no fault of the public. They would rather pay him than pay pensions to Lady Auckland and the like; but, if he chose to confide in "the great man now no more," they are not answerable for it.

N. B. I have received a long letter, containing an eulogium on Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, and, as I have no objection to an eulogium of that gentleman, I shall insert it in my next Number, if I have not room for it in this. If possible, it shall be inserted in this; but if the *indexes*, &c. which *must* come into this number, do not leave room for it, I beg the writer to be assured, that no further delay shall take place.

Botley, June 22, 1808.

MR. ROSCOE AND MR. FOX.

SIR,—As a constant reader of your journal and a friend to truth, I request your insertion of the POSTSCRIPT to a late pamphlet of Mr. Roscoe's, entitled, "*Remarks on the Proposals made to Great Britain for opening Negotiations for Peace in the Year 1807.*"—I confidently rely upon your candour for insertion of this, as I think it only just, that the false insinuation of your correspondent should be contradicted in the same journal which gave it birth.—I am,
SIR,—AN ADMIRER OF MR. FOX.—*Newcastle upon Tyne, June, 8, 1808.*

POSTSCRIPT.

Perhaps there never was an instance of more gross and unfounded calumny than in a recent attempt to asperse the memory, and impeach the veracity of the late Mr. Fox, by insinuating that the proposal made to him respecting the assassination of the French ruler, as related by him in his letter to M. Talleyrand, was a story fabricated by himself, for the purpose of bringing on a negotiation with France. The more

immediate friends of Mr. Fox have disdained to take any public notice of the false assertions, and scandalous imputations to which I allude; and I can scarcely suppose that any of my readers require further evidence, than what is contained in Mr. Fox's letter, of a fact, with regard to which his character and veracity are opposed to the malicious and wanton accusations which have been made against him. But that no possible doubt may hereafter remain as to this transaction, and for the entire refutation of these slanders, I think it incumbent upon me to state, from indisputable authority, that there exists evidence, in documents at the Alien Office, of the arrival at Gravesend, of the person named and described in Mr. Fox's letters; of his application from that place for an audience with Mr. Fox; of his private interview with that gentleman at his house in Arlington-street; of Mr. Fox's order, in the first instance, to send the Frenchman out of the kingdom, and of his subsequent revocation of that order, in consequence of which the intended assassin was detained in custody three weeks, and was then embarked at Harwich, on board a vessel bound for Husum. When to these particulars it is added, that the person who accompanied the Frenchman to the interview with Mr. Fox, and who acted under his directions in the measures taken for sending him out of the kingdom, was Mr. Brooke, who yet holds the same situation in the Alien Office, as he did under the administration of Mr. Fox, I trust it will be wholly unnecessary for me to state any thing further in vindication of that distinguished character, against so malignant and foul a charge.

MR. COKE OF NORFOLK.

SIR,—As I am a constant reader of your Register, I believe there are few subjects that escape my observation: certainly, none of those which contain your sentiments. Although I may differ from you in opinion relative to some of them, yet I cannot avoid expressing my thanks for the pleasure and information I have frequently derived from your labours, and what in my mind is of vastly more importance than individual interest, the concern you take in the welfare of the community demands still more forcibly those thanks; being like yourself only anxious to behold the prosperity of my native land. If it be remarked by those who never will coincide with you, so long as you continue to speak the truth, that your *personal* attacks are often too severe, nay,

what they term unpardonable, your friends, Sir, will do you the justice to declare, that no one more readily contradicts an assertion which has been founded either in misrepresentation, or from not being perfectly acquainted with him concerning whom you are speaking. That rank or fortune should prove no shield to the degrading acts of those who are placed in elevated situations, I perfectly agree with you, and that such a mirror as your Register exists to afford to public characters the opportunity of seeing their faults and their vices, I consider a most fortunate circumstance for the people. But, Sir, as you appear desirous of taking for your motto that most admirable sentence—"Nothing to extenuate nor set down aught in malice," I feel convinced you will be obliged to any of your readers who will point out those mistakes you unintentionally may have committed; or, even if you should still retain your opinion, who in manly argument will differ from you in that opinion; leaving it to the public to correct or confirm the judgment of either.—On reading your Register of the 28th of May, I was greatly astonished at some remarks which were made on Mr. Coke of Norfolk, and if they were not positively addressed to him, his tenants, and to other gentlemen who have exerted every laudable endeavour to encourage industry, reward labour, and promote the general good of the kingdom, they were evidently written with the intention of being applied to them, and solely to them. I shall not, Sir, at this time proceed to state to you the advantages which I consider have arisen from the formation of agricultural societies composed of the most learned men we can boast, and of the best practical, liberal, and enlightened cultivators of land: but, it is my wish to mention some of the most prominent traits in the character of Mr. Coke; that any false impression which may have been made on the minds of that part of your readers who do not know Mr. Coke, may hear that which with perfect truth is advanced in his praise.—Thus, Sir, an opportunity will be afforded to you, and to them afterwards, to declare, whether or not they consider Mr. Coke to be deserving that public testimony of esteem the inhabitants of Norfolk have so long bestowed in electing him their representative; whether or not he may be truly said to reign in the hearts of his tenants and his friends; whether or not he has deserved, although he never received, those marks of distinction conferred on many; although they were conspicuous for their enmity to patriotism—a thorough contempt for the laws of the land

—disregarding the interests of the people, and only shewing a desire to enrich themselves at the expence of the country.—First, Sir, considering Mr. Coke as an Agriculturist, it will be necessary to recall the attention of your readers to the state of the county of Norfolk, previous to that gentleman's becoming the proprietor of the immense tracts of land he now possesses; and which, I believe, would have worn a very different aspect, had any other person inherited them. The residence of Mr. Coke but a short period before was a barren spot; the lands around scarcely to be termed cultivated; the greatest part of the western district conspicuous for its growth of rye; the race of sheep such as disgraced the breeders of that animal; the farmers' men who imbibed all the system of the preceding century, and neither emulation nor encouragement prevailed. Although, when Mr. Coke became the sole manager of his property, it may justly be said, speaking figuratively, that the foundation stone of the fabric was laid, yet it was left to him to rear and complete the noble structure. More enraptured with the solid comforts of domestic life, than the transitory joys obtained in courts and palaces, Mr. Coke devoted his time to two of the most laudable pursuits which can engage the attention of man—the increase of his own property, and the happiness of those by whom he was surrounded. While other distinguished characters were lavishing thousands and tens of thousands at the gaming table; on the turf; in empty parade; in disgusting masquerades and useless routes; he was inviting to his house and courting the society of men, the most reputed for their agricultural knowledge. He sought for the first breeders of stock of every description: he attended himself to the management and improvement of a flock of 4000 sheep; and the most ingenious manufacturers of their produce were ever welcome guests at his hospitable board.—Mr. Coke's invaluable Library, thrown open to all his friends, contained every publication deserving the notice of the farmer; and the superior information which from such various sources he had derived, was disseminated on every occasion, and that at no small expence, if the printing works on tillage were alone considered. One day in every week was given up by himself and his family to oblige those that chose to examine his gardens, his nurseries, his parks, his farms, his numerous breeds of cattle, his newly invented implements of every description; and he added to this gratification of the visitors, by permitting them to enter

every room in his princely abode. Three days were also annually appointed for *general inspection*, and for the sale or the letting of such stock, as on trial were found to be best adapted to the different soils of the kingdom; but more especially those in Norfolk, and to obtain this knowledge with the best mode of benefiting poor lands, *five thousand* pounds were every year devoted. The motto which Mr. Coke chose was "LIVE AND LET LIVE;" and, determining to render his tenants independent yeomen, he granted long leases, and on such terms as he knew must induce them, for *their own* as well as his sake, to enhance the value of his estates. He erected them houses fit for the residence of gentlemen, and all the external buildings were not to be surpassed for convenience. Vast sums were expended by Mr. Coke in the purchase of the most elegant and costly pieces of plate given to stimulate industry; and, while the farmer himself with honest pride displayed such well earned prizes, he had the additional satisfaction of knowing that his arable land was become more productive; that his breeds of cattle, particularly his flocks, increased in number and in quality; and that his servants were rewarded because they were patterns of industry and integrity. His wife also had equal pride in shewing that the management of the concerns *within* doors was equal to that *without*, and her maids received public gifts for their good conduct, and the extraordinary produce of the dairy; as well as the shepherds for their fostering care of the lambs and the ewes.—To the encouragement of Planting, Mr. Coke paid particular attention; especially to the growth of the oak for the use of the navy, where it could be raised; and in his own domain, amidst 800 acres of ornamental and profitable wood, is his mansion embosomed. With years of toil, and with a fortune which might have supported even princes, did Mr. Coke alter the face of a whole county. *One hundred thousand* acres of land were, by his exertions, brought into cultivation. The barley and turnip system was introduced, layers were regularly sown; and, in one of the largest districts, where before only rye was seen, astonishing breadths of the finest wheats were now annually grown. This larger portion of the sustenance of human life, supported the increasing population. Heaths hitherto barren, groaned for the sickle and the scythe; farm houses, and stack yards full of corn every where appeared; in a once desolate country riches in abundance met the gladdened eye, and the grateful mind naturally reverted to him who had effected so much

good, and conferred happiness and wealth, not only on individuals, but whole families and generations.—But, even then, Mr. Coke saw that one great evil still remained, an evil more to be dreaded in Norfolk than any county in England, from the lightness of the soil; this was the poverty of much of the uplands, and most of the low meadows and marshes. If the turnip crop failed, (the Norfolk farmer's great resource) what were they to do under these circumstances? or, if substitutes were found, they must have been procured at a great expence. Mr. Coke had the mortification to find there were ninety thousand acres of land of this unprofitable description, and the value of great part of it entirely destroyed by the constant inundations of the sea. Therefore, he first selected and brought to his house from a great distance, one of the most able engineers, who was also possessed of vast geological knowledge (Mr. William Smith, mineralogist); and in a short time, considering the magnitude of the concern, he recovered *forty-five thousand* acres from the power of the German ocean, whose raging tides had hitherto been deemed irresistible to the efforts of human art: and this mighty undertaking was accomplished for the small sum of little more than *two thousand* pounds, and to effect which the lowest calculation delivered by those previously employed to estimate, and who were considered very capable to judge, from their official situations, amounted to *near thirty-five thousand*: and thus, through the means of Mr. Coke, in this single instance, a saving to the county of more than *thirty thousand* pounds was obtained. The same gentleman (Mr. Smith) was employed to render the boggy, gravelly, and useless lands on Mr. Coke's estates, more productive; and, by drainage and irrigation, converting them into *water-meadows*, they were made more profitable than even the oldest and the best pastures. Mr. Coke, for this truly spirited example (which was immediately adopted by many landed proprietors to a considerable extent) was presented by the Board of Agriculture with the gold medal. Mr. Smith, for his masterly style in conducting such works, was honoured by the Society of Arts with a silver medal; and, for his book on this subject also publicly received the thanks of their members. That such astonishing and incredible improvements might the more rapidly spread throughout the county, Mr. Coke, to induce his tenants and *all other* occupiers of lands to *unite* with him in such labours, annually gave them massive vases of plate, and every liberal encouragement

Large tracts of swampy lands, where the men walked up to their knees in water to mow off the rushes, were drained and fertilized even to the growing of corn. Some of a sterile and more boggy nature were made firm; and natural and artificial grasses enriched the soil: many which before would not bear a cow nor feed a sheep, yielded from two to three tons per acre, of most excellent food; exclusive of the large quantities of stock, maintained in the spring and the autumn; and off others, immense crops of tares and pulse were harvested, which had been dibbled on the surface. It is likewise in contemplation, on a most judicious plan, to propose to open a *navigation* through the interior of the county, that a free communication may exist between the two principal seaports; or, at least, that it may be carried through part of the distance, where it does not now extend; and, which may easily be effected in a manner most beneficial to the inhabitants. Thus, the labour of man and beast is much decreased; the produce of the land greatly increased; agricultural implements improved, beyond description; and a brilliant example has been shewn, worthy the imitation of *every* landlord. But, sir, when at the annual festivity of the sheep-shearing at Holkham, I behold thousands of people witnessing a scene that is NOT KNOWN ELSEWHERE, when I look around me, and discover the most scientific men in the empire, assembled to give and to *obtain* information; when I see Mr. Coke's tenants are gentlemen of enlightened minds and liberal education; fellow labourers in the same vineyard; fit associates for such dignified characters, as the dukes * of Bedford, lord Thanet, lord Somerville, sir John Sinclair, Mr. Arthur Young, &c. &c.; when I behold foreigners of the *first rank* from various parts of the world, and hear them exclaim, as I have, that "we petty monarchs" of little states, could have formed no such "ideas:" when I see Mr. Coke at his table, surrounded by five hundred of such men as I have named, who LOOK UP TO HIM with a fervor of esteem and degree of veneration, which KINGS may ENVY, but do NOT OBTAIN.—Why, then, if this, Mr. Cobbett, is, what you call "ambition," would to God that EVERY Englishman's bosom glowed with the SAME ambitious hopes; the same desire to be as much respected; and I should have no fear for England's safety! If such a mode of passing through life be called a proof of "little talents," happy, in my humble opinion, is he who possesses that

* I say dukes as I wish to speak in the plural.

little. If these men from whom this respect and love are obtained can be termed "knaves or fools," for expressing their estimation of such a patriot, why then, proud may they be on this occasion, to merit the title of either the one or the other.—On this subject, I could add a great deal more, but, less I could not well say. Relative to Mr. Coke's political conduct; has he not always been consistent? What was it during the American war? Did he not then receive the *thanks of the county*, for his patriotic proceedings? Pursue him through the whole career of his parliamentary duties, and say, where he has been inconsistent. Neither titles nor pomp nor power, could ever purchase HIS integrity; and the glittering useless baubles of state sycophancy have been neglected for the more estimable, and more lasting treasures of GENERAL admiration, and UNIVERSAL esteem. As a husband, a father, a master, a landlord, and a friend, it is needless for me to say any thing in Mr. Coke's favour. Point out to me such another man, considered in those various *public* and *private* views in which his character is to be regarded; and I will then admit, that the kingdom contains two persons, one of whom alone I believed to exist.—Having, Sir, merely fulfilled what I thought was my duty, (as a member of that society of which Mr. Coke WAS SOLICITED to be the president), in stating my ideas, why I considered the attack on him UNMERITED, particularly by so public a writer, I trust you will excuse me for having engaged so much of your valuable time; but, *weak indeed* must be that cause which does not possess an advocate, and *truly degenerate* that fraternity, amongst whom not one appears to vindicate the dignified, consistent, and manly conduct of their patron.—THOMAS ROOPE.—*Lakenham Cottage, Norwich, June 9, 1808.*

TITHES.

SIR;—I am sorry to see that your late contests with the land-owners and farmers has led you to attempt the defence of the present mode of taking tithes. I think that even all your powers of argument will be unable to convince disinterested men, that they are not, under the present system, a great bar to improvements in agriculture, and render many of the clergy odious in the eyes of numbers, who, under other circumstances, would be friends to the established church; and I should suppose that the clergy would very readily agree to a *fair* commutation, except a few whose thirst for domination over their parishioners is stronger than their desire of being respected by them.—

That tithes are not the rightful property, by long custom, of those to whom they are due, few, if any, I believe will deny; but that they are not a greater hardship than a rent, when collected in kind, or an advanced money-payment demanded for them when the produce is increased by superior management, you are very far from proving. If rents were taken in kind, do you think agriculture would flourish as it does? ask those who have seen the Metayers' farms in France. In those parishes where the tithes are inappropriate, the clergyman is far more likely to be beloved by his flock, but they are no less a bar to agricultural improvements. If the tithes were appropriated to the purposes for which they were originally given; namely, one part to the bishop, another to the repairing of churches, another for the support of the poor, and the remainder for the support of the clergyman, perhaps the "sect of cultivators" would not so loudly complain of their hardship, and we should not so often hear of country churches becoming so ruinous as to be dangerous to celebrate divine worship in, and that the parishioners are wholly unable to repair them, "being chiefly tenants at rack rent, and greatly burthened with poor!"—You ask, "for what should new enclosures be exempted from the payment of tithes, for some years at least?" For what? Because the owner or occupier *ought* to have the expense of enclosing fully repaid, before the tithe owner *ought* to touch the produce. In strict justice he ought never to have more than a tenth part of the profit which the land yielded in its natural state, and neither the church nor the poor could justly complain of being robbed. If a man encloses, and brings into cultivation the lands of another, he either has it rent free, or at a low one until it repays him, and if you had had any experience in inclosing, you would know it is not done, but at a very considerable expense, sometimes greater than lands even *tithe-free* ever repay. But it appears you are not acquainted with the *practice* of agriculture, or you would know that where manure is to be sold, and lands tithe free, and lands from which they are rigidly taken, are equally situated for receiving it, that far the greater part of it will be applied to the former, and thus "the church and the poor would be robbed." I will ask you, Sir, if you were a hard-working farmer, and could, at the expense of ninety-two pounds, and a good deal of toil and labour, procure as much dung, road-scrappings, waste earth, &c. as would make your farm produce a hundred pounds' worth

more of hay or corn than it would do without it, and when produced, the tithing-man was to come and take a tenth of it, thus causing you to lose £2 instead of gaining £8: whether you would lay out your capital, or remain content with the "natural produce" of your farm? Your answer to this question will oblige A FRIEND TO LIBERAL-MINDED AGRICULTURISTS.—Norton, near Malton, June 9th, 1808.

P. S. The land-owners and farmers are certainly very much alarmed, lest *their* interests should suffer by stopping the distillation from corn, but I think you have clearly shewn the fallaciousness of their arguments; certainly, barley and oats are as high now as they can desire them to be: but, I suppose their opposition to it arose from the same liberality of sentiment which made "Pitt and War" such a favourite toast at the farmers' market dinners, because we *fortunately* had some bad harvests during his administration, and the same cause makes them now so strenuously argue, that we ought not to make peace so long as Buonaparte reigns; some of the less cunning acknowledge, that they think peace would lower the price of corn! They are a good deal like the electors of Honiton, whose patriotism you have sketched so naturally, and much resemble the "independent burgesses" of a place that I could name, who have made so much noise lately, about their *loyalty*, and who have so nobly proved their principles by extolling those who have given them a guinea and half-a-crown for a vote, and degrading those who only gave them half-a-guinea.

STIPENDIARY CURATES' BILL.

SIR,—However different the following sentiments, on the principle of the stipendiary curates' bill, now pending in parliament, may be from those which have been hitherto expressed by you, or your correspondents, I trust to your impartiality to allow of their appearance in your Register.—So far as the bill is expressive of a *wish* to ameliorate the condition of curates, it has my most unfeigned approbation. But, this approbation is *confined* to the *wish*; and it is mingled with the sincerest regret, that the *means* intended to accomplish that *wish*, are not only inadequate to their object, but that they are likely, also, to prove injurious to the public good, so far as the general condition and influence of the great body of the clergy are concerned.—I shall, in a few words, endeavour to explain these objections to the bill.—First the *means* intended to accomplish the *wish* of the bill, to improve the condition of curates, are inadequate to

the object proposed. They are not, indeed, inadequate to increase the salaries of some curates, though this they would not do, considering the very few livings comparatively that are of the value to which the bill is intended to apply, to nearly the extent supposed; but they are inadequate to improve the condition of curates, so as to enable them, as a body, to become better able to support that rank in society, which their profession entitles them to move in. For, did even the possibility exist, of increasing every curacy in the kingdom to the sum of £250 a year, which is much more than what the bill proposes, or than any bill can accomplish, we should, in a very short time, see, at least, as much distress among that class of clergy, intended to be relieved by the bill, as we do at this present time. Let us pause a moment, and consider what would be the operation of the means proposed? Would it not be to induce many more to enter into orders than now do, without private fortune, without connections, and without any view to future preferment, in prospect of the stipend of a curacy? Now the sum mentioned is perfectly inadequate to supply even a small family, in the present state of things, with the necessities of respectable subsistence; but it would be just enough to prevail with many to enter into the church, to engage afterwards in marriage, and to expose themselves to the hard and severe shifts, which every man of reflection must know to be his lot who has to maintain a family upon a life income of £250. Compared with the great body of the clergy, few now receive holy orders on the narrow view of the remuneration they are to receive for their services, whether they are fortunate enough to have preferment in view, or whether they are to take their chance in the vineyard of their Redeemer; but the majority take orders, resting on their own private means, chiefly, for future support, and influenced by the general respectability attaching to the church from the liberal policy whereby she has hitherto been disciplined. Let this policy be cramped, and, instead of that respectability, which now attaches to the church, through all the degrees of her ministers, and which is supported by private fortune and honorable connections, it would soon be discovered, that the measure of the bill would materially injure the condition of the inferior clergy, or, what is precisely the same thing, it would hold forth to the inexperienced a hope of subsistence, it would encourage them to enter into the church, and to expose themselves, in future life, to the miseries of those who build on a scanty annuity to supply the

calls of a liberal profession.—If there be any truth in these reflexions, then it will follow, that the means, intended to be resorted to, are likely to prove injurious to the public good, so far as concerns the general condition and influence of the great body of the clergy. Whatever tends to increase the visible distress of the clergy, will necessarily diminish their influence: and a division of the income of the church, that may operate to induce any to enter into it on a scantier pay than, in the present increased expences of living, would be adequate, will increase this distress, and ultimately restrain others of more liberal means from engaging in a profession which will be respected in proportion to the external respectability of those persons who are engaged in her services.—The church is to be considered the post of honor, and not of profit. Happily, it has, hitherto, for the most part, been so considered. With exceptions, we have no other concern than to lament them. Look to the body of the clergy. You will see many living in all the comforts, and elegancies of life, curates as well as incumbents, but very few, indeed, that are enabled to do so from their preferments. The truth is, that they did not enter into the church from the narrow views of mere subsistence; but on more noble and honourable views, on feelings of attachment to the sacred profession, on the love of a life of ease and leisure for liberal studies, and in the prospect of meeting with persons embarked in the same profession as themselves, respectable in family, and above dependence for subsistence on the pay of their services. The church, indeed, notwithstanding a few glittering preferments, which allure as so many prizes in her scanty wheel, is utterly unable to pay for the services she requires, even were her revenues equalized, by any equitable remuneration for expenses of education incurred, and for advantages which must be foregone in the clerical profession.—But, such has hitherto been the wisdom of her policy, that, what she is unable to accomplish by stipends, she has actually accomplished, by what has been called the Lottery of the Church, by engaging the services of most learned, and most respectable men.—If any one is prepared to say that she has not, then he and the writer of these reflections are at issue, and little good could follow from prolonging or multiplying them. But, in the sincere belief that they have been secured, the object of these cursory reflections is to submit a consideration on the impolicy of risking the future loss of such services, by adopting the measures of the bill.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.
N. T.—7th June, 1808.

STIPENDIARY CURATES.

SIR,—The curates' act of the 36 George the third was, as to augmentation of stipend, analagous to the statute of Anne which made £50 per annum the maximum. The two acts intended no *punishment* for non residence, and left much to the discretion and benignity of the bishops.—And, in order that we may more deliberately discuss the question of residence, let it be remembered, that the several ancient statutes, viz. the 9 Ed. 2. st. 1. c. 8. the 21st. Hen. 8 c. 13, and the 25 Henry 8, c. 16, exempted from legal penalty, certain persons there described: and what is the general principle of such exemptions? That certain situations of high dignity, great responsibility, well directed industry, and many of them requiring superior talents and attainments, not omitting the consideration of personal improvement in knowledge amidst the rage of excessive reformation, were legitimate pleas for non residence. When it serves a particular purpose, we are reminded that the ordinary was not and is not bound to pay attention to these exemptions, but I never heard that such a power was ever exerted, and heaven forbid it ever should. Let us now proceed to the legal decisions, which I shall give in substance, after premising that the word *wilful* is a word which gave more latitude to a judge and jury than they ever took. It must have had an intentionally strong meaning, but, except in cases of bad health, was little attended to. Those reasonable and honourable apologies which the calls of private business, and private affection furnish were never admitted, and the word *wilful* lost all its meaning. Nor did the evil end here. The courts decided that no one was statutably resident who did not reside in the parsonage house, and so Dr. Ibbetson was cast who lived within a few yards of his own premises. It was taken for granted that no clergyman would keep his parsonage, in repair who did not live in it. The use of parochial visitations is thus taken away. But *hospitality* is pleaded.—Are parsonage houses then to become honorary inns, and especially after the establishment of parish rates, and the occasional donations of every clergyman who is competent to make them? Let the following two cases be considered as very common. A. has a living of £60 or £70 per annum. He has also private property, or which amounts to the same thing, he purchases, and builds. Could he justify it to his family to lay out hundreds upon so small a life estate? For Gilbert's act would not allow him above £120 or 140. Neither has he a right to enlarge the premi-

ses beyond the size of the living itself. An incumbent within my own knowledge did justice to his living by rebuilding the parsonage, but *resided* in a house of his own. Another incumbent had family property and a family house in one of the most populous parishes in the kingdom. Let the inhabitants say what loss they or the church sustained, by his residing half a mile out of the town. This was so far from being the case, that they have expressed every degree of respect both before and after his decease.—The ignis fatuus of hospitality has brought on a determination that if an incumbent boards in his parsonage house, he is not resident under the statutes, as if single men could do no act of liberality, and as if there was no method of feeding the poor, but in the parsonage kitchen. It was also determined that nearness of residence would not suffice, unless in the respective parishes. Thus Mr. Van Mildert and Mr. Bland, were harrassed, though officiating conscientiously, and residing in the vicinity of their parishes.—Such were the hardships which legal decisions had unfortunately added, and which certainly did not arise out of the statutes, but the interpretation of them. In old towns the parishes are so numerous that whoever resides in any part of these towns is sufficiently at hand for the duties required, especially if he have also an associate.—When the late residence bill passed, the clergy seemed in general to be satisfied, having had to combat with the rigour of the statutes, the still greater rigour of legal interpretations, and most of all with ill founded prejudice and clamour: and I venture to assert from a long acquaintance with several lay districts that the instances of unjustifiable non residence were never numerous nor flagrant. In some parts of the kingdom, there are small parishes and ill endowed, and if one clergyman hold two or three of them and serve them all, he may do his duty very conscientiously; of which I have known many irrefragable proofs. If the act of the 36 Geo. III, had considered these as perpetual curacies, till they were augmented to a value which would have rendered them benefices in truth, great advantage would have followed, patrons and others would have augmented some which stand in need of it, and any one of them might be possessed by an incumbent of a living without vacating that living by cession, and which can only be resumed at an enormous expence, an expence often exceeding a whole year's income of the new *pretended* benefice.—Mr. Perceval has thought proper to say that many of the excuses in the New Residence Act

ought to have been excluded. To me immaterial who his counsellors are; I hesitate not to say, I envy neither him nor those associates. The framer of the bill would not intentionally insert any thing nugatory, and no candid well-judging person will think so. There is a class of men left to the kindness of the bishops, of men, I say, who if they do their duty, are pronounced by the general suffrage of mankind, to be the most useful members of the clerical profession; I mean, the instructors of youth. Hard-hearted, indeed, must that bishop be, who would refuse a letter of licence to such persons, especially if their benefices were inadequate to their reasonable support. With impropriations belonging to laymen and corporate bodies Mr. P. dares not interfere. The universities and Sion college are justly incensed against him. If his proposal could ever have been just, which every thinking man must deny, this is not the moment to make it, when ten per cent. is taken out of every income for the exigencies of the State. The curates' act made an encroachment by allowing an ordinary to licence a curate, without the consent of the incumbent, and by making those benefices which are not such in truth. That this was a proper construction of the stat. Geo. I. is at least doubtful, but if it were, the statute should have been repealed instead of confirmed. In one word, the present bill, reprobated as it was when brought forward in substance a few years ago, if passed into a law, will descend to posterity with abhorrence and execration, as dictated by a sanctimonious casuistry and a mean desire of popularity, crammed down the throats of the senators, remaining in town by the overbearing influence and importunity of office.—It will easily be seen from whom the order of privy council on the subject of residence originated, and it will be worth while to copy the bishop of Worcester's letter to Mr. Fawkener, sent a little time before his death. No one can judge of the merits or demerits of cases in the gross, but the taste of the times will relish any thing in disparagement of the regular clergy, and the greatest calumniators are they who falsely call themselves evangelical.—I am, &c. L. M.

LOCAL MILITIA BILL.

To the Lords of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.—The humble Petition of John Cartwright of Enfield in the County of Middlesex,

Sheweth—That the Local Militia bill now before your lordships appears to your peti-

tioner to be inconsistent with that constitution, on which depend his life, liberty, and property.—That if the said bill should become part of the general system of defence for Great Britain, it would, in the humble judgment of your petitioner, greatly add to the present public danger, by tending to inspire the nation with fallacious hopes of security, while the system of defence would in reality be extremely defective, both in physical means, and moral motive.—That the physical force required by the constitution for repelling invasion, extends to the whole of the posse comitatus, including all men from 15 to 60 years of age, independent of any such regular army as might by authority of parliament be at any time in existence.—That the moral motive for contributing by taxes to the utmost of men's ability, and for hazarding life in defence of the state, is that political liberty, or, in other words, that full and substantial representation in parliament, to which the people are by the constitution entitled: but of which they are deprived in a degree which is, and for a long course of years has been, matter of extreme grief, dissatisfaction, and complaint; creating even doubts whether a House of Commons so defectively constituted as the present, and of whose members a very large proportion are dependent on the crown for lucrative offices is any protection at all to the liberties of our country.—That your petitioner believes that if, in physical means and moral motive, the system of defence for Great Britain were made as perfect as the constitution requires, the impossibility of conquering an island, and the madness of invading it would then be apparent to the enemy.—That the present defectiveness of our system of defence, by feeding the enemy with the hope of ultimately conquering our country, is the true cause of his continuing the war; and that, were parliament to perfect that defence according to the constitution, we should of consequence, very shortly have peace.—And when your petitioner casts his eye towards Spain, he is convinced that neither peace nor alliance with the present ruler of France would, for a moment, give our country security, unless the people, free and armed, should ever be ready on the instant, effectually to repel the most formidable invasion, backed by a fleet even superior in number of ships to that of England, which, in the relative situation of the two countries he may shortly be expected to possess.—Your petitioner therefore humbly hopes the said Local Militia bill will not be allowed to pass into a law, but that your lordships in conjunction with the other House of Parliament and his Ma-

jesty will, 'ere it be too late, effectually provide for the safety of the realm against invasion, by restoring to life and action those energies of the constitution, civil and military, which are applicable to defence, and in which alone are found the physical means and moral motive, whereby, as your petitioner verily believes, our endangered country, when the whole continent shall be in the hands of Buonaparte, can be defended.—And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c. &c.—J. CARTWRIGHT.—Presented by Earl Stanhope, on Saturday the 18th of June, 1808.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRANCE AND AMERICA.—*Letter of M. Champagny, to Gen. Armstrong, dated Paris, Jan. 15, 1808. (Concluded from page 992.)*

It has not been enough for her to offend against the independence of her flag, nay, against that of their territory, and of their inhabitants, by attacking them even in their ports, by forcibly carrying away their crews: her decrees of the 11th November have made a fresh attack on their commerce, and on their navigation, as they have done on those of all other powers.—In the situation in which England has placed the continent, especially since her decrees of the 11th of Nov., his Majesty has no doubts of a declaration of war against her by the U. States. Whatever transient sacrifices war may occasion, they will not believe it consistent either with their interest or dignity to acknowledge the monstrous principle, and the anarchy which that government wishes to establish on the seas. If it be useful and honourable for all nations to cause the true maritime laws of nations to be re-established and to avenge the insults committed by England against every flag, it is indispensable for the U. States, who from the extent of their commerce have oftener to complain of those violations. War exists, then in fact, between England and the U.

States, and his Majesty considers it as declared, from the day on which England published her decrees. In that persuasion his Majesty, ready to consider the U. States as associated with the cause of all the powers, who have to defend themselves against England, has not taken any definitive measures towards the American vessels which may have been brought into our ports. He has ordered that they should remain sequestered, until a decision may be had thereon, according to the dispositions which shall have been expressed by the government of the U. States.

BRAZILS.—*Ordinance, addressed to the Count de Ponte.—Dated at Bahia, Jan. 29, 1808.*

Friend,—I, the Prince Regent, send you, as my well beloved, greeting: duly considering the report which you have made to me on the condition of my subjects, and my royal revenue, on account of the present critical state of public affairs in Europe, and being desirous to give on that important subject, a speedy decision, in order to stop the farther progress of evils of such magnitude, &c. I do herewith provisionally ordain, until a general system of regulations, respecting the matters in question shall have been arranged, as follows:—1. That at the custom houses in the Brazils, all kinds of goods, merchandize, and commodities, brought either on board of foreign ships, belonging to such powers as are considered to be on terms of amity and peace with my royal crown, or in vessels belonging to my subjects, shall be admitted, on payment of 24 per cent. import duty, consisting of 20 per cent. consolidated customs, and four per cent. additional duty already established; the collection of the said customs to be effected in the same manner as has hitherto been done at the custom-house. Wine, brandy, and sweet oil, shall pay double the duty that has hitherto been levied on the said articles.—2. That it shall be lawful, not only for my own subjects, but

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DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOKBINDER.

It is to be observed, that this sheet, which is the last of Volume XIII, should *not be cut open* by the Reader, but should be left to the Bookbinder, who will perceive, that the first half-sheet, of which this page makes a part, comes at the *end*, and that the other half-sheet containing the Title Page and Table of Contents, is to be cut off, and placed at the *beginning* of the Volume.

also for those of the powers above-mentioned, to export to such ports as they shall deem expedient, for the benefit of trade and agriculture, which I feel anxious to promote, every species of colonial commodities and produce, with the exception of Brazil wood and other articles, the exportation of which is already prohibited, on payment of the same export duty as has hitherto been established in the respective provinces; all laws, royal edicts, and other ordinances, which hitherto prohibited in this state of the Brazils a mutual intercourse and maritime trade between my subjects and foreign nations, remaining until farther notice suspended and without force. All which you will cause to be carried into effect with that activity and zeal which I expect from you.

SWEDEN.—*Answer to the Danish Declaration of War.*—Dated, Stockholm, 21st March, 1808.

The Court of Denmark had made an alliance with France, was prepared to receive French troops in its country, collected transport vessels in its ports, fitted out all its ships in the Road of Copenhagen, to cover a French expedition against Sweden, and then issues a declaration of war. Denmark accuses Sweden of being the cause of this rupture, because she did not make her compliments of condolence on the loss of the fleet; because she would not co-operate to avenge that humiliation, and especially because she sought aid from England against such an aggression.—The relations of the king with his neighbouring power, were those of a simple peace. There was neither alliance nor any convention whatever, which traced out for the two courts any common course for their political conduct; therefore, when Sweden, Russia, and Prussia, fought in conjunction against France; Denmark, under the shade of her neutrality, appeared the friend of all. The king witnessing this system, and convinced, by some explanations demanded in the course of the year 1806, of the impossibility of obtaining a change favourable to Sweden, could not entertain a hope that the naval force of Denmark could ever be useful to him; on the contrary, after the peace of Tilsit, he had every reason to fear, that by the suggestions of Russia and France, it might one day be turned against him. His majesty therefore thought it proper to observe a profound silence relative to the events which passed in his vicinity last autumn, leaving to England and futurity to justify them.—It is due to truth however to declare, that the court of London did not invite Sweden to take part in this expedition,

nor confided it to her till the moment of its being carried into execution; therefore not the least movement was made in Sweden on this occasion. The English fleet arrived and departed without entering into any port of Sweden, and the auxiliary troops embarked at Pomerania were restored, in virtue of a separate article in the convention concluded at London relative to this object on the 17th of June, 1807, when certainly there was as yet no reference to this expedition. The following is the article.—It is fully understood, that in case unforeseen circumstances should render impracticable the object of this convention, or that his Britannic majesty should find it necessary to withdraw the said troops (the German Legion) from Swedish Pomerania, the stipulation of this convention shall in no manner prevent his Britannic majesty from giving such orders as he may judge proper, with respect to the ulterior disposition of these troops, which are now placed under the orders of his Swedish majesty. The court of London has since fully justified this enterprize, and the experience of every day justifies it. Numerous French armies remained in Lower Saxony, and overawed the North. There were still nations to subjugate, ports to shut, and forces to direct against England. They were to penetrate at any rate and expense: they would have acted in any case, and under any pretence that might have offered. At present, it is the expedition against the Danish fleet which is the rallying word of the whole league.—What is remarkable is, that the Danish government, already beset by French troops, overpowered, impelled, and even paid by France, issues a declaration of war against Sweden, without daring even to name the power which forces it to act. It seeks, with embarrassment, grievances and reasons to appear to have had in this determination a will of its own. It cites the remonstrances of Sweden against the arrest of the Swedish mails, as vexatious; while in its severity against English correspondence, it would not suffer it to pass according to treaty, and declares that it is imperiously obliged to take these measures. It pretends to know the thoughts of the king, and imagines them hostile, though for some months it had concerted an aggression upon Sweden.—It pretends to reason on the interests of the country, though it has abandoned its own interests, and even its existence to a foreign influence; in fine, it reproaches Sweden with having provided for her defence by a subsidiary treaty, though itself is paid for an aggression, and then it pronounces, though indeed with a kind of

timidity, the word mercenary, which the government that pays it had probably cruelly dictated to it.—It is proper here to render to his Britannic majesty the most authentic and solemn testimony, that in all his transactions with Sweden he never demanded offensive measures, nor required any thing that was not perfectly compatible with its tranquillity and independence. The most recent and convincing proof of this is the promptitude with which his ministry acceded to the proposition of the king for the pacification of the Baltic, by a formal promise not to send thither any ships of war, on conditions useful and honourable to all the North. Let the Danish government read in this proposition the complete refutation of the complaints of which the manifesto against Sweden is composed, and in the moments when it shall return to itself, let it compare the state of things which the king has desired, with that which France and Russia wish. Let all the allies of France read in this consent of England, the difference between the connections which unite the two courts and those which enchain them, and let them pronounce on which side is to be found a due regard for particular interests, and a just moderation for the general good.—Denmark herself has been during a long time the object of this moderation, and did not cease to be so till she became absolutely dangerous. When the North was outraged by the devastation of Lower Saxony, by the oppression of the Hanseatic towns, what did she to avenge them? Sweden, England, Prussia, and Russia, made war for this object; but no one thought of forcing Denmark to take part in it. She was the ally of Russia then as well as at present; why did she not embrace her cause? What could she then alledge for her tranquillity which Sweden cannot now alledge? all this is explained by the single fact which she endeavours to conceal—that she is at present under the influence of the French government. Had England followed the principles of his enemy, she would not have waited the moment of her surrender to disarm her: she would have invaded her several years before; she would have guarded her; and all this with a view to the good of the North.—The ancient alliance with Russia is made a pretext for this aggression, though all the world knows that it was merely defensive; and that it remained suspended during the late wars with Russia, when, perhaps that power might have claimed it.—The court of Denmark, in order to justify its proceedings, hesitates not to make all kinds of assertions; dares to

defend the injustice of Russia, and betray a premeditated plot; and all this it does to conceal the chief, nay only reason, which is—that Denmark is the ally of France. But injustice and falsehood find their end; honour and truth will triumph in their turn. His majesty, relying on the justice of his cause, hopes, with conscious pride of his reigning over a brave and loyal people, so often tried by danger, and always held up by the Almighty, that the same Providence will vouchsafe to bless his arms, and restore to his subjects a safe and honourable peace, to the confusion of his enemies.

ENGLAND.—*Order in Council respecting Property in Portugal.*—Dated 4th May, 1808.

His majesty, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all Portuguese property now detained, and not already decreed to be restored, nor entitled to restitution under his majesty's order of the 6th of January last, shall be forthwith decreed to be restored upon claims given or to be given for the same, either by the Portuguese consul, or other person duly authorised by the Portuguese minister, resident at this court, or by the agents (duly authorised) of those owners and proprietors who are not resident in Portugal, or in other places subject to the influence and controul of France, and that the part of the property so restored belonging to persons not residing in Portugal, or in other places subject to the influence and controul of France, shall be for the use and benefit of the owners and proprietors thereof; and the part belonging jointly to persons resident in Portugal, and persons resident in the Brazils, or in any settlement belonging to the crown of Portugal, or in the United Kingdom, or in any country in amity with his majesty, shall be given up to such of the owners and proprietors thereof as are resident as last-mentioned, upon an engagement entered into, and security given by or on the behalf of the said part-owners and proprietors, to the satisfaction of the Portuguese minister, to account to the Prince Regent of Portugal for such part of the said joint property as shall belong to persons resident in Portugal, or in other places subject to the influence and controul of France; and the part belonging to persons resident in Portugal or in other places subject to the influence and controul of France, shall be at the future disposition of the Prince Regent of Portugal.—And it is further ordered, that the joint agents to whom the property has been or shall be delivered pursuant to the

said order of the 6th of January last, shall be, and they are hereby authorized and directed, after the said property shall have been decreed to be restored, to proceed to the sale of such property, or of such parts thereof, as the Portuguese minister resident at this court shall signify to them, in writing, the expediency of selling in the manner most beneficial for the parties interested therein, and to invest the proceeds of such parts as shall be sold in government securities, under the previous sanction, in writing, of the Portuguese minister, and to hold the same, together with the property not sold, at the disposal and subject to the future directions of the Prince Regent of Portugal, to be signified to them through his minister resident in London: And the the right hon. the lords commissioners of his majesty's Treasury, his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the judge of the right court of admiralty, and judges of the courts of vice-Admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein as to them shall respectively appertain.

SICILY AND ENGLAND.—*Treaty of Alliance and Subsidy between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of the two Sicilies.*—Signed at Palermo, 30th of March, 1808.

His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of the two Sicilies, being equally animated by a sincere desire of strengthening more and more the ties of friendship and good understanding which so happily subsist between them, have judged that nothing could contribute more efficaciously to that salutary end, than the conclusion of a treaty of alliance and subsidy:—For this purpose their said majesties have named their respective plenipotentiaries, viz. his Britannic majesty, the right hon. W. Drummond, one of his majesty's most hon. privy council, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his said Sicilian majesty;—and his majesty the king of the two Sicilies, the right illustrious and right excellent Thomas de Semma, marquis of Circello, his gentleman of the chamber, field-marshal of his armies, knight of his royal order of St. Januarius, his councillor of state, secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, and superintendant-general of the posts; who, after having communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—Art. I. There shall be a continuance

of the sincere and constant friendship between his Britannic majesty and his majesty the king of the two Sicilies, their heirs and successors, which has always subsisted up to the present time.—Art. II. The two high contracting parties shall afford to each other during the present war with France, every succour and assistance in proportion to their respective forces, and shall prevent by common consent every thing that can cause them trouble or detriment.—Art. III. His majesty the king of the two Sicilies, engages to grant to the troops of his Britannic majesty, stationed in the fortresses of Sicily, and to all British ships of war, an exemption from all duties belonging to him, upon every thing of which the British squadrons in the Mediterranean, and the troops of that nation may stand in need, and which the country can furnish, in provisions, food, and in military and naval stores.—

Art. IV. His Sicilian majesty, being desirous of giving an additional proof of the sentiments by which he is animated, also engages to exempt from all duties belonging to him upon such provisions as may be requisite for the British ships of war at Malta, as well as all military stores which are to be found in the country, on condition, however, that each vessel or vessels of war be furnished with a requisition from the governor of the said island, which shall specify the articles, and the quantity required. Art.

V. His Sicilian majesty further engages, in virtue of the present treaty, never to allow the enemies of Great Britain to bring into any of his ports during the present war, any British ships taken by the enemies of Great Britain. Art. VI. His Sicilian majesty also engages to open the ports of the two Sicilies during the present war, to British squadrons, as well as to all merchant and other ships belonging to British subjects, without any restriction whatever, referring to the third article, with respect to exemption from duties. Art. VII. His Britannic majesty ne-

gates in return, to defend during the present war the fortresses of Messina and Augusta, and to maintain there for that purpose, at his charge and expence, a body of troops which, in the present war, shall consist of ten thousand men, and to augment their number if the case shall require it. The disposition of which troops in the said fortresses, shall be in such manner and proportion as the commanding officer (to whom every requisite facility shall be given) shall judge expedient: and his Britannic majesty stipulates, that the said general officers shall have the power of exercising martial law in the above-mentioned garrisons, with

respect to their British troops, in the same manner, and according to the same rules, as are observed in other English garrisons.—Quarters for the said troops shall be provided in the above-mentioned fortresses by his Sicilian majesty. Art. VIII. His Britannic majesty further engages to pay his Sicilian majesty, during the continuance of the present war, an annual subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds sterling (to commence from the 10th of September 1805, when the British and Russian troops landed in the Neapolitan territory), payable at the rate of twenty-five thousand pounds sterling per month; which payment shall always be made one month in advance, computing from the date of the signature of the present treaty. His Sicilian majesty purposing to employ the said subsidies for the use of his marine and of his land forces, shall regulate the distribution of them in such proportion as these two services may require, for the defence of his states, and for operations against the common enemy, and an account shall be given every three months to the British government, of the manner in which his Sicilian majesty shall have employed the subsidies paid to him by Great Britain. Art. IX. The two high contracting parties desiring to strengthen more and more the ties which unite the two nations, and to extend their mutual relations, will employ themselves, as soon as possible, in concluding a treaty of commerce, the articles of which shall be equally advantageous to the subjects of both states. Art. X. His Sicilian majesty engages not to conclude with France a peace separate from England; and his Britannic majesty on his part also engages not to make a peace with France, without comprehending and saving in it the interests of his Sicilian majesty.—Art. XI. The present treaty of alliance and of subsidy shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratification shall be exchanged in due form in London, within the space of four months, from the date of its signature, or sooner if possible.—In witness whereof, we the undersigned, furnished with full power from our respective sovereigns, have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.—Done at Palermo, this 30th day of March, 1808.—W. DRUMMOND, (L. S.)—THOS. DE SOMMA, (L. S.)

SWEDEN.—*Report from Major General Baron Anekarward, touching the Transactions in the Island of Gothland.*

I received this moment by Assessor Dubbe, a report from admiral baron Ceders-trom, that your majesty's fleet, consisting of three sail of line, two frigates, two armed brigs, the yacht *Fortuna*, and several transports, dropped anchor, on the 14th inst. in Sandweek road, and that the same evening, the Swedish troops, infantry and artillery, were disembarked. On the following day, the 15th, arrived in Wesley, a Swedish flag of truce, with the annexed articles of capitulation, which were signed the 16th.—The Swedish van guard, composed of chasseurs, entered the town the 17th, as the Russian troops had already marched to Slito. The chief of brigade, lieutenant colonel baron Halwood, marched with the main body to Slito, on account of the Russians, having contrary to the capitulation, spiked several guns, spoiled a large quantity of gunpowder, and not paid the debts which they had bound themselves to discharge. The 18th, admiral baron Cederstrom, intended to weigh anchor and proceed to Slito, in order to prevail on admiral Bodisko to fulfil the terms of the capitulation.—Assessor Dubbes' report to me, is dated the 18th instant.—*Articles relative to the Evacuation of the Isle of Gothland.*—I. His imperial Russian majesty's troops are to evacuate the island within two days, and to deliver to his Swedish majesty's troops, all arms, ammunition, and artillery which they brought with them or took, in the island. They are to give their word of honour, that they will not serve before the expiration of a twelvemonth, against the king of Sweden or his allies.—II. All effects and magazines, of whatever name or description, which belong to the king of Sweden, and which have been consumed by the Russian troops, shall be paid for, and the value of all requisitions which may have been enforced, shall also be made good.—III. The Russian troops are to take with them all their effects and property, and to march to Slito; they are there to embark on board the same transports that brought them thither; they shall be furnished with a passport, in order that they may be able to return unmolested to Russian or Prussian harbours; and should they stand in need of provisions, they shall be supplied with them on making payment for the same. The 4-16th May, 1808.—RUDOLPH CEDERSTROM. BODISKO, Real Adm. and Knt.

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